7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Food is served

on china platters and/or round plates. If necessary, everyone is provided with knives, forks, and spoons, but napkins are not ordinarily used. Cups and demitasses are provided for tea and coffee, respectively. (The only kind of coffee which is consumed in the village is "Turkish" coffee.) Wine is drunk from small glasses. The only acceptable way to drink water, however, is directly from the spouted jug called *ibriiq*. This is definitely an acquired skill which children are taught as early as possible. For this purpose, a small *ibriiq*, usually made of glass, is provided. With the exception of the coffee grinder, usually the coffee beakers, the pestle and mortar, and the *ibriiq*, all these items are of European manufacture and/or design.

Although kerosene heaters are readily available in Beirut, the standard means of heating houses in the village is by small, round, charcoal braziers which sit low on the floor. If a social group in one room of a multi-room house moves to another, the brazier around which the group has sat will be picked up and carried along. The idea, in other words, is to keep the people warm rather than to heat the room. The European and American kerosene heaters are undoubtedly more efficient, but they are a great deal more expensive to buy and operate. Besides, the charcoal braziers can also be used for boiling coffee and broiling meat on skewers.

Oil lamps, with glass chimneys, of European manufacture and of the same type which is still sometimes seen in rural areas of the United States, are used in many houses. Everyone keeps a supply of candles in case of emergency. But the most widely used type of illumination is provided by a kerosene pressure lantern. This gives a very strong light and is frequently suspended on an iron rod from the ceiling of the room.

Nearly every individual who is adolescent or older has a flashlight and uses it. On moonless or cloudy nights, the village is enveloped in pitch blackness, with only a few undiffused lights showing here and there from doors or windows.

Floor-covering is provided either by small "oriental" rugs or straw mats. Such ornamental or luxury items as elaborately inlaid boxes and furniture, engraved brass or copper trays, and painted pottery, are rare.

DIET

The villagers regularly eat three meals a day, of which the evening meal is ordinarily the largest, except on Sundays. Breakfast is likely to include the leftovers from the preceding evening meal. Bread is eaten at, and coffee served after, every meal. Lunch tends to be small, and the family is apt to be incomplete at lunch, for men or boys working in the fields usually take their lunches with them—a couple of loaves of bread, some olives, and perhaps an onion or cucumber or two, and a jug of water.

The villagers say that in summer they have more to eat than in winter. In effect, what they mean is that fresh fruits and vegetables supplement the year-

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262 round staples, all, except citrus fruits, in the summer. The staples, which are 438 either constantly obtainable or can be locally preserved and stored, are the following:

Wheat (mostly imported)
Rice (imported)
Mutton (mostly bought on the hoof from outsiders)
Hens' eggs (locally produced)
Olives (locally produced)
Figs (locally produced)
Fresh fish (caught locally)
Potatoes and turnips (imported and produced locally)
Onions and garlic (imported and produced locally)
A variety of legumes (imported and produced locally)
Milk (locally produced)
Salt (locally produced)
Sugar (imported)
Coffee and tea (imported)

This base is supplemented in summer by the following items, most of which are produced locally: apricots, fresh figs, grapes, tomatoes, cucumbers, green and yellow squashes, peppers, lettuce, and almonds.

It is clear that the village is heavily dependent upon the outside for food staples. Among the forms in which these staples are eaten are the following:

262 *Bread*. Americans, among whom bread is now a food of secondary importance and generally of poor nutritive value, will at once recognize the significance of "daily bread" when they observe its use among present-day Semitic-speaking peoples. Although it would be an exaggeration to say that it is *the* staff of life, it is certainly the most important single item of food—important both in regard to its nutritive value and the attitudes toward it of its eaters. Bread-making is an important social as well as economic function, and it will be described in detail later. Here it need only be said that the loaf is a disk about one foot or more in diameter and about a third of an inch thick. Tannous (1944, p. 534) says that every adult eats from one to two pounds of it a day and takes it at every meal. Although no attitudes toward it of a religious nature were encountered in Munṣif, its importance was indicated by such remarks as: "A meal is not a meal if there is no bread"; "If there is nothing else, bread is enough"; "If you do not eat bread, you will always be hungry"; and "If you drink too much water at a meal, you will not be able to eat enough bread." The average adult in the village eats about two loaves per meal, which is consistent with Tannous' statement.

264 Bread can be eaten alone, but usually it is not. The eater tears it into pieces about three inches square. With this between fingers and thumb (usually, but not exclusively, of the right hand), he reaches out to a common dish and takes a piece of food. The morsel is then conveyed to the mouth as is, or after that which has been taken from the dish has been more thoroughly wrapped up in the bread. For eating semiliquid foods, the piece of bread is made into the shape of a small, crude shovel. Virtually the entire meal can be, and frequently is, eaten, associatively and instrumentally, with bread.

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Bread (*khubz*) is not the only wheat product which is made in the bakery and eaten. There is also holy bread (*qurbaan*) (which will be discussed later). And a special treat is *manquushi* ("fingered"). This starts as a disk of unleavened dough which looks very much like an unbaked loaf of bread. But a rim is pinched up around the edge and the maker may punch herringbone or crosshatch designs in the center with her fingers. The center is then covered liberally with olive oil and on this sugar and sesame seeds are sprinkled. It is preferably eaten as soon as possible after it has been baked. It is sweet and filling. None of the very sweet, flaky pastries, which can be bought in Middle Eastern restaurants, was encountered in the village.

Meat. Sheep are killed ordinarily only on Sundays, and the meat is bought and most of it eaten immediately. There appears to be a sort of folk hygiene connected with this practice. One of the few complaints about city life voiced by a young person was that it was not a good idea to buy meat in the city because one didn't know how long it had been hanging in the butcher shop, completely exposed to flies and the dust of the street. Beef, a prime source of tapeworm, is not eaten at all, nor is pork.

The main dish of the standard Sunday dinner, taken at noon, is raw *kibbi*, perhaps the most famous Lebanese dish. It consists of raw meat and cracked wheat ground up together in the stone mortar and served as a smooth mound on a platter. It is washed down with another famous item, *ʔaraq*, a distilled grape liquor, flavored with anis, which is clear and colorless when it comes from the bottle but turns milky white when water is added to it, as it usually is. The villagers buy *ʔaraq* which is made in the city, although they would undoubtedly make their own if they had to. The intake of alcohol is very moderate. It is never drunk alone but always as part of a meal. Four small glasses of *ʔaraq* mixed with water are considered enough, if not too much. The writer is reasonably certain that there is no cultural pattern for getting really drunk for its own sake. A little wine is made locally, but not very much.

Raw meat is also eaten in small chunks, taken in bread and dipped in the rough salt which is obtained locally from the sea. Most of the specialized organs, such as liver, kidneys, testicles, and lungs, are eaten in this manner.

What is left over from the raw *kibbi* is cooked, either in the form of a flat disk or in individual patties. This cooked *kibbi* will appear on Monday's, and perhaps Tuesday's, menu. *Laḥm mishwi* ("broiled meat"—on skewers) another regional specialty, is an alternative.

Roast chicken is sometimes served but usually only on special occasions, such as the saint's-day feasts at which certain families entertain the priest.

Olives. All the olives which are consumed in the village are local produce. Some are cured in brine and stored for eating throughout the year. A dish of them appears at every meal. But most of a year's harvest is reduced, locally, to oil which is used in nearly every phase of cooking.

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262 257 *Sweet Preserves.* Figs nd apricots (which are also eaten raw in season) are made into very sweet jamswhich are eaten throughout the year. Grapes (extensively eaten raw in season) nd carob pods are made into another type of preserve, called *dibs,* which has the onsistency of molasses.

A preserve of a rathr special type, *ḥalaawi,* ("sweet"), is obtained from the city in returnable cans It comes in a hard cake which flakes when cut. Its essential ingredients are sugar and *ṭiḥiini* (mashed sesame seeds). *Ḥalaawi* is very sweet and "rich," and is onsidered to be a great delicacy which is eaten, alone or with bread, at the closeof the meal.

262 252 *Milk products.* Milk s not usually taken raw, although there is one dish, *laban ʾimmu,* which consis of hot milk in which float pastry balls which are stuffed with rice and/or meat. Rther, milk is preferred in three fermented forms: white cheese (from goat's milk), *laban* ("sour" milk, known in America as "yoghurt"), and *labni* (drained *laban,* which has the consistency of cream cheese). Of the three, *laban* is the most extensiely used. It appears at every meal and is the preferred sauce with which to eat coked *kibbi.*

Eggs are sometimes aten hard boiled, but they are preferred when included in a dish which is a combination of omelette and meat loaf. Potatoes and turnips, also, are usually include in a larger combination. "French fried" potatoes are known, but not by that name.

Onions and garlic ar eaten cooked or raw, alone or in combination with other things: Rice is used for tuffing or is served as a dish, boiled, and covered with onions.

272 263 Tea (*shayy*) is taker very sweet, but milk is never added. As with coffee, the sugar is boiled along with the main ingredient. The common occidental notion, however, that "Turkish" coffee (*qahwi*) really isn't Turkish coffee unless it is sirupy sweet is not necessrily founded on fact. Some prefer it with little sugar or none at all, and the guet is usually asked if he prefers it very sweet, sweet, or bitter. The only requirements are that it be thick and very hot.

262 252 Of the summer products which have not been considered so far, squash is the only one which appears n cooked form, frequently stuffed with rice and/or meat (*kuusa maḥshi*). (There is a general notion that cool foods are preferable in hot weather, hot foods in col weather, but this is not rigidly followed in practice.)

Sliced cucumbers an tomatoes, in olive oil, are served in summer, but these, and other vegetables, are preferred when included in two larger dishes. One of these is a very delicious salad (*ṣalaṭa*) consisting of lettuce, tomato, cucumber, parsley, mint, onion, and garlic. The dressing is a mixture of lemon juice and olive oil. The other is *tabbuuli.* This has nearly the same ingredients as the salad, but they are chopped up vey fine and mixed with cracked wheat which has been soaked in water. Like rav *kibbi, tabbuuli* is served in the form of a mound, and its eating is associated with the drinking of *ʿaraq.*

Legumes are not too commonly eaten alone without further preparation than

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cooking. There is a cooked bean mash (*mujaddara*), but this is not considered to be very tasty. However, chick peas, mashed, are mixed with *ṭiḥiini* to form a very popular and filling "sauce" called *ḥummuṣ biṭḥiini*. This is served as a substitute for, or in addition to, *laban*.

Foreign foods are very rare. The most important is spaghetti, whose eating requires the use of a fork. Scandinavian canned tuna, also, supplements the local fish supply which is rather meager, although in summer, sea urchins are consumed in large quantities, as well as squids and octopi.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that diet is one of the most conservative and least acculturated aspects of the material culture. Cooking and serving utensils, it is true, have been heavily influenced, but this has been a process of substitution, for purposes of efficiency, rather than of innovation.

CLOTHING

To some degree, the clothing worn by the villagers varies in style according to the age of the wearer. Among males, the elderly are definitely conservative, the middle-aged vary, the young men and boys wear European-style clothes almost without exception. A similar gradation among the females is a little less obvious, probably primarily because the women's traditional costume, unlike the men's, is not particularly distinctive to Western eyes.

Men. The second oldest man in the village is the only one who wears the *ghumbaaz*, a long, long-sleeved, tubular gown, of white, striped cotton-backed silk. This costume is frequently seen in the heterogeneous city populations, often on younger men. Weulerrse (1946, p. 244) says that it is of Bedu origin.

More typical of the older men is the traditional *shirwal* (tremendously baggy trousers with short, tight legs), open-necked, or collarless shirt, and European jacket. Headgear is the cylindrical *ṭarbuush*, maroon felt with a black tassel. Especially in winter, a cloth or scarf may be wrapped around the *ṭarbuush*. One man in the village wears a tall conical brown felt cap, called *libbaadi*, which is often seen elsewhere.

A few middle-aged men wear the complete traditional costume, but more of them have adopted European (*franji*) clothes. For work, they wear nondescript, but European, trousers, shirt, sweater if needed, socks and shoes. On more or less formal occasions, however, a complete suit, with tie, is worn. This tendency is even more pronounced among the young men. No one ordinarily goes unshod except small boys and girls in summer. Sport shirts—preferably plain white—are worn in summer.

Those working in the fields frequently wear pith helmets and jodhpur-like trousers which bear a superficial resemblance to the *shirwal* which were not observed on any man under about fifty. Quite a number of middle-aged men who have given up the *shirwal*, nevertheless retain the *ṭarbuush* which, however, is not

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3. The change is not in conflict, functionally or symbolically, with other, firmly established or unchanging norms.

The second condition provides the adequate motivation essential to learning, and, as Hallowell (1945, pp. 182–83) has pointed out, "learning is the psychological crux of acculturation." Using Barnett's terms (Barnett, 1940, p. 31), we can say that if the *function* of the new item is apprehended and appreciated by the villagers, they will accept it, provided that it does not involve too much expense, does not necessitate elaborate readjustments in otherwise stable systems, and that its *meaning* is neither odious (for example, a part of foreign imperialism) nor in conflict with the meanings of other, stable traits.

Perhaps this analysis will be clearer when we consider two areas of "material culture" which have remained almost wholly unchanged. One of these is diet which has remained unchanged because any fundamental alteration in it would meet with situations which would be contrary to any or all of the three conditions which are necessary to successful change. It would be enough to say that change in diet would involve extra expense and a major alteration in eating habits and cooking methods (violation of conditions 1 and 3). But besides this, the villagers see no purpose in changing their basic diet. It satisfies them physically and gustatorially (violation of conditions 2 and 3). It is probable also that they derive no little spiritual satisfaction in being able to maintain old patterns in this area of behavior where no change is forced upon them.

The other area of material conservatism is in farming techniques. Although farming itself has deteriorated markedly in terms of the number of men who practice it (a negative sort of change), farming techniques remain the same. This is largely because conditions 1 and 2 do not obtain. To introduce, for example, tractors and modern plows and harrows, into a terrace village like Munşif, would not only involve great expense, it would also be rather absurd from a practical point of view. There would be the problem of moving the equipment from one terrace to another, and most of the terraces are so small and irregular in shape that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to use when it was in place. Chemical fertilizers have been adopted to some extent, probably limited by expense. Certainly the villagers are most eager to obtain an irrigation system, but here their desires are thwarted by external conditions.

ECONOMIC CHANGES

In the economic or subsistence sphere, the village has obviously undergone a profound change. A number of rural specialties, such as weaving and shoemaking, have completely gone out of existence. Farming, formerly *the* primary occupation, now occupies a very small number of men. A large proportion, if not most, of the village income is now derived from urban occupations.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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shown in the table above are found in other parts of the Middle East but three indigenous sects need mention here: the Druzes, who are a mountain people professing a religion which derived from Islam in the eleventh century A.D., but became independent; the Alawis of the mountains behind Latakia, whose religion appears to be a dogmatic form of Shii Islam with some survivals of Christian ritual; and the Maronites, who are a Christian sect, living mainly in the north of Lebanon.

The religion of the majority of Syrians and of the head of the Syrian state is Sunni Islam; in the Lebanon, Muslims and Christians are fairly evenly divided and the President of the Republic is a Maronite Christian and the Prime Minister a Sunni Muslim. The Christians of the Arab Levant have provided the Middle East with great leaders in journalism, letters, politics, and science, but in present-day Syria the Christians are mainly prominent in commerce and industry. There is hardly any dangerous animosity between the sects, but sectarian bonds are a very real force in the lives of people who for so long lived under the Turkish *millet* system whereby each sect was an administrative unit, the head of which exercised considerable authority.

So mixed a population living in a variety of environments naturally does not constitute one physical type, but some generalizations are hazarded for the sake of a fuller picture. Dark hair is almost universal but the skin of the town dweller is no darker than that of a Mediterranean European; the Syrians and Lebanese are not often as tall or as heavy as the average Englishman but they mature at an earlier age. The poorer nomad eats mainly bread, with milk and fruit and vegetables as less frequent additions and meat as an event, but in the towns and villages most people eat a full diet with rather more oil and spice than is used in Britain. The cultivator and the nomad wear local costumes but most townspeople wear European clothes; the tarbush or the head-cloth are usual but not universal headgear for men. Most Muslim women wear the veil, but in the towns the richer women are becoming more and more emancipated and, particularly in Beirut, many lead the same lives as Christian women. In Lebanon and in Damascus and Aleppo the way of life is very like that in southern Europe, and both countries make a pleasant home for a European.

History

Semitic-speaking people have inhabited for four or five millennia the area which is known historically as Syria, and yet for much of this period the rulers of what is now Syria an

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
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Communications are excellent in the coastal districts, but some parts of the interior are inaccessible, especially during the winter months, when snow accumulates on the mountain ridges. Good roads stretch north and south along the coast and in the Bekaa, but the lateral connections are restricted by the nature of the terrain and the shortage of suitable natural passes across the mountains. Trunk highways skirt the coast and extend from Beirut to Damascus, linking Lebanon and Syria. Beirut is also united with Damascus by a railway through Rayak, while a line from Rayak through Homs joins the Istanbul-Baghdad railway at Aleppo. Tripoli is linked with the latter system by a branch from Homs. A coastal railroad, extending from Tripoli to Haifa, was constructed by the British military forces during World War II, and the Lebanese portion is still in operation. Beirut, the principal modern port, handles a large volume of transit traffic for Syria, Jordan, Iraq and other parts of the Middle East. Tripoli is a port of secondary significance, except as an oil-shipping center. The ancient port of Sidon has recently been developed as the terminus of the trans-Arabian pipeline, serving as a Mediterranean port for the shipment of oil from the Saudi Arabian fields of the Arabian American Oil Company. The distances between local points are too short for the promotion of internal air services, but Beirut is an important junction for international airlines serving Europe and the Near and the Far East.

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Food and Nutrition

The nutritional standards of the people differ according to the prosperity and the familiarity with food values of the individual families, but they are reasonably high in most parts of the country. Breads and a coarse-grained cereal known as *burghul*, which are usually prepared from wheat but sometimes from barley or millet, are staple foods in both urban and rural areas. Rice is popular among all groups of the population. Liberal amounts of milk are consumed

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in the form of cheese, buttermilk and *leban*, the last a fermented product made from cow's milk. Fresh milk is rarely used, however, except in limited sections in the larger cities. In the rural districts, milk is obtained chiefly from sheep and goats, less frequently from cows. Legumes, potatoes, onions and other vegetables are widely cultivated. Green, leafy varieties are scarce in the inland districts, but wild herbs are often utilized as substitutes. Many types of fruits are abundant, especially in the coastal valleys. They form important supplementary items of diet when in season.

Much of the meat is imported from Syria or Turkey, but relatively little reaches the people outside the larger towns. The average villager seldom consumes meat more than once a week. Mutton and, secondarily, beef are used most extensively. Both are employed, in a cooked or a raw state, in *kubi*, a national dish prepared from meat and *burghul*. Goat meat is found everywhere, while pork is available in the Christian communities. Poultry and eggs are plentiful in most localities and fish in the coastal region. Olive oil and butter are the primary sources of fats.

In spite of the generally satisfactory level of nutrition, a definite decrease in the consumption of protective foods is apparent in the inland districts and in South Lebanon. In 1950, the Lebanese government appointed a Nutrition Committee to promote a better understanding of the elementary principles of nutrition among the people. The different religious customs of the Moslem and the Christian communities influence their nutritional habits and limit the application of mass educational measures.

Housing

Lebanon has a large so-called middle class, and the disparity between the living conditions of the [redacted] the poor is less pronounced than in most of the neighboring countries. Moreover, many families maintain financial and social contacts with